1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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workers, was founded as an ordinary agricultural village not more than about sixty years ago. But such opportunities decreased throughout the nineteenth and this century. One inevitable result was to increase wealth differences and to make them more permanent.

A major consequence of increased wealth differences has been the strain placed on internal solidarity by "envy" (*hisa*; Hindi: *hinska*) and even more by fear of "envy." What this term conveys is concealed malicious intent based upon desire for what another possesses. Though Santal society has long been plagued with accusations of witchcraft, the notion that its practice is almost invariably deliberate and that it arises from envy is of modern origin. Though it is recognized that men may be "envious," it is thought that females most often are guilty and that it is only they who practice witchcraft. Fertile grounds for envy, and attendant witchcraft, appeared when wealthy Santal began using their capital to hire other Santal, to loan money, paddy, and seed at interest, to buy forest land, and even in a few cases to invest in various small-scale enterprises. Relations arising from these investments are often strained and a source of resentment. Envy also arises from observation of what wealth procures in terms of traditional Santal pleasures and from its use in settling disputes.

Aside from the exacerbation of "envy," which increased wealth differences produced, the market imposed other, more general strains. It is difficult to square the basic reciprocity of relations in a kin society like that of the Santal with the impersonal and contractual relations of the market. Though the Santal struggle over land with as much ferocity as any peasants, they find it hard to insist on strictly market relations with other commodities, especially if pressed by kinsmen. A few Santal

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

881 together. We are imploring you, the village people, we were like crows, we have become
539 white like paddybirds; you village people be witnesses.

Now they drink beer, and commencing to sing chaṭiar and doṇ songs they dance. Then all is finished.

Song.

O, the sirom ear had been formed.
Of the woman such and such a girl was born.

O, the marâr bush[12] had blossomed,
The boy so and so was born.

The plump one, the stout one,
The little parakeet, the little starling,
The sucking boy, the sucking so and so,
Bring the two down at once,
The little parakeet, the little starling.

c. Of the burnt-mark.

304 The ancestors of old said that if any one did not get the burnt-mark, in the other world
[775] they would put in their arms a caterpillar big as a lôg; therefore all boys will diligently stand the pain. Some persons take only one burnt-mark, some three, some five, and some take seven burnt-marks. They get the burnt-mark on the left arm. The burnt-marks are made in the following way: They make a roll of a rag like a cigar. They set fire to this at the top end and put it down on the spot where the burnt-mark is to be. It burns slowly down. When it is burnt out the person who makes the mark quickly presses the ashes down on the spot. Then a blister forms and it becomes a sore. When this heals the burnt-mark is there.

d. Of tattooing.

[562] Women do not take burnt-marks; they let themselves be tattooed, in order that in the
[775] other world they shall not put a caterpillar big as a log into their arms. They are tattooed on the breast. There are no special figures, only something indefinite, to look beautiful. First they draw with a bit of wood and soot-ink, and afterwards they prick with a needle along the pattern. When tattooing is done, they smear turmeric on, and they go and bathe.

[12] Erythrina Indica, Lam.

2; Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

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The priest is in the court-yard, giris,
The reddish white horse;
The priest is in the place outside, giris,
The reddish companion mare.

Moving up and down, moving up and down, giris,
Is the reddish white horse;
Swaying, swaying, giris,
Is the reddish companion mare.

Bind on him the bells, giris,
On the reddish white horse;
Tie on to her the jingle-belt, giris,
On the reddish companion mare.

The dancing ones dance, and the beer-drinkers drink beer. Until sunset they dance in the house of the priest singing Flower-festival songs; and when the sun has set, they go to outside the house of the village headman and dance lagre in the village street. When they have finished dancing, they go to their respective homes to lie down and sleep.

The next day the priest of the outskirts takes the Godet along with him and goes to the forest. Here he pricks himself and offers the blood to the Pargana bonga and the others. At all offerings he acts in the same way.

Offering to the Abge we have every year, sometimes in Aghan (middle of November to middle of December), sometimes in Asar (middle of June to middle of July), there is nothing fixed. To the Abge bonga we sometimes give fowls, sometimes pigs, and sometimes rams. Maran buru and the others with him are bongas common for all, but the Abge bonga belongs to each one separately. The Abge bongas watch over their respective families, in order that no fever or pain, no epidemics, no witchcraft, and no deaths or calamities shall befall them. Santals say, it is told, that if witch women get hold of the Abge bongas, then the members of the family have no possibility of being saved; they will die; therefore they exert themselves to keep their Abge bonga satisfied. And if they make vows to them at times of danger, they will stand up and save them. When they sacrifice to the Abge, only brothers invite each other and eat, the men only; they do not give the women anything. In the open field, near a white-ant hill they perform the sacrifice to the Abge bonga; the invocation is not different, it is the same at all sacrifices.

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Also to the boundary bongas they make sacrifices every year, that is, those who plough in the places where the bongas are. The boundary bongas are very jealous; if they are not kept satisfied, they kill awfully; in a moment they make snakes appear; they make tigers eat you, or they cause disease to come suddenly; therefore we fear them very much,

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2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

X. BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH THE BONGAS.

a. The witches.

754 Witchcraft[1] is the great trouble with us Santals. Because of witchcraft people in the village become enemies, the door of relatives is shut, father and sons quarrel, brothers are separated, husband and wife are divorced, and in the country people kill each other. [829] If there were no witches, we should have constant great happiness. The Europeans judge well in all matters, so far as their knowledge goes; but in connexion with witchcraft they are somehow or other blinded; we cannot understand it. The witches eat us; and when we catch them and worry them just a little, the magistrates again turn the matter round and resort to imprisonment; we feel great distress; what can we possibly do, so that it might go well with us; we are utterly bewildered. Also when we explain it to the magistrates, they do not believe it; they say: Well then, let her eat my finger; then only shall I believe that she is a witch, — and then they jail you. The witches do not eat using a vessel and a knife, quite so; by sorcery they send people off to the other world, straight away. [622] Formerly the village headman and his deputy were subduing them, and if they would not be peaceful, they would, together with the village people, drive them away from the village after having disgraced them; but nowadays the magistrates have made them utterly audacious, so that we men have become absolutely disheartened.

[562] The word of a man does not go any more; the women have become the absolute rulers in this age. If you say just a little to her, she will at once throw it into your mouth; fearing this you keep quiet, what can you do else.

The witches have their councils at night, in a forest or an open plain somewhere. When they go out, they put a worn broom or the like down on the bedstead with the husband, and he thinks: my wife is here, because on account of the magic he sees this broom like his wife; but the wives have gone to the bongas to be married to them. It is told they do not go on foot; they climb up into some tree or other and go by magic like the wind. They come down at the playing ground of the bongas and dance with the bongas; they call tigers to themselves; they comb them, kiss them; then they subdue the bongas and make them swear that they shall not appear when divination is made. Having acted in this way they return home at cockcrow.

[1] Cf. Bodding: Witchcraft among the Santals. Oslo Etnografiske Museums Skrifter, vol. 8, p. 8, Oslo 1940.

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g. To neutralize the effect of an eclipse.

821 428 604 593 To neutralize the effect of an eclipse is done as follows. In a year when an eclipse of the sun or the moon is taking place, a mother of children will say: Do, my sons or daughters, go for us to the family of your maternal uncle to neutralize the effect of the eclipse. If they live in the same village, they go that very day to the family of their maternal uncle. When they have reached there, they say: We have come, uncle, to neutralize the effects of the eclipse. They say to them: All right, my boy (or my girl). Now the mother of these children has brewed beer and takes this to her father's house; and they drink this, pouring some out as a libation. If her father is living, he says to her: What is it, my girl, that you have in mind and have brought? If her father is not living, her brothers will also ask her in the same way. She then says: You remember, your nephews or grandchildren came to neutralize the effects of the eclipse; it is in connexion with this that we have come. Now if the old man is alive, he calls all the boys together. If he is not alive, the brothers come together and consult each other. And they give them a fowl or a goat or a sheep or a pig. If these multiply, then only these children have a right to this property because the wives of all the sons fetch this eclipse-neutralizing from their father or brothers. Therefore the heirs on both sides have no right to get anything of the possible increase of these. Only of their own accord the brothers of both sides may give the children a bull- or a heifer calf. They say that formerly, when the cows or the sheep or goats multiplied in the home of a wife's father, and the girl was bringing this live stock from there to her husband's home, then the bonga of her father's home would also come along. Then if this bonga did not return, her husband would have to worship the bonga of the old home of his wife.

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h. About harvest perquisites.

421 562 The harvest perquisites are as follows: When a man's daughter, while unmarried, gets harvest perquisites, her father and brothers will lend her perquisites to somebody at 50 pct. And when these perquisites increase, and from this also cattle multiply, then at the time when her husband brings to his home what has multiplied in the old home of his wife, the bonga of some people will also, it is told, follow together with this property. Therefore some people do not let what they have remain there for a long time, fearing that the bongas will come along. And when anyone marries them, also the brothers of the husband have a right to the harvest perquisites property. But then the father and the brothers of the girl will call out to get a higher brideprice; because they say: We are sending with this our daughter or sister, or: what she owns, half our household. Therefore we shall take a higher brideprice, and of this you will not get anything in return. And when she acquires harvest perquisites after having become a widow or been divorced and this increases, then, in case friends apply for her and she is remarried, this woman alone has

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authoritative right to the increase mentioned, because this is her property, that of her husband or her children. The brothers or heirs of her new husband have no right to this. But if both of them have no descendants when they die, then the heirs are the true claimants to the goods of these two.

1. About cumun.

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The cumun is as follows: When a man procures a wife for his son, then the elder sister of this young man, or his younger sister, or his paternal uncles, or his mother's brother's wife, or elder or younger female cousins will put a rupee in the bridegroom's brass-plate at the waving ceremony at the marriage. This they call the cumun rupee. And for this they point out a calf to the girl. If there is any increase from this calf, or it is turned into money, paddy, or rice, then the children of this woman only will get. The heirs of her husband will not get anything. And if she dies without having had children, it will naturally belong to the heirs.

3t Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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in his house. Ploughing, however, is an exclusive privilege of men; and women are debarred from it as a social taboo. The penalty for breach of this custom consists in a fine and ceremonial purification by the tribe. If you question a Santal on the genesis of the institution, he will tell you the myth that in ancient times when a woman first took the plough, the cattle in the yoke went on straight ahead and she could not make them deviate either to the left or to the right according to her will, when lo and behold, out opened a mighty river from under the furrows to the consternation of everybody.

In conjugal life, the women like their other Indian sisters are self-sacrificing. She will, we have already seen, eat last of all after feeding other members of the family. We asked a woman point-blank, "Why don't you dine along with men?, Have you no such right?" "Our rights are equal," she answered with a genial smile, "but we choose not to exercise it." The way, however, she exercises her equal rights impresses one so much that the old Sirdar of Muruda, Mayurbhanj, was definitely of opinion that the Santal women work more than their male partners.

The equality of status, the woman claimed for her, extends to the drinking cup as well; but a distinction was drawn by her paradoxically enough when she blurted out, "We drink like men but do

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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562 293 not get drunk." Only if we had not seen women babbling in drunken brawl with the introduction of the outstill system in the Santal Parganas, and had not educated Santals at Baripada told us an opposite tale, . . we could thoroughly agree with her sex-patriotism, if such a phrase is permissible.

562 342 784 [783] [462] In house-construction, however, the division of labour has a nicety of its own, for, we learn, the women cannot sit upon a thatch except on pain of social excommunication. Such a pollution can only be expatiated by *Pujas* to the god "Dhòròm." So by its very necessity, house-building is man's preserve. A quite similar taboo attaches to them during funerals when according to custom, women cannot accompany the procession beyond the limits of the village where the death occurred.

464 625 159 Santal men engaged in the police service were highly spoken of by the Superintendent of Police, Mayurbhanj, as efficient, obedient and hard-working. Asked if their drink-habit was not a hindrance to them, he was emphatic that it did not matter at all. Mr. Mahanty, a Deputy Magistrate, spoke in a similar strain about his Santal employees.

562 461 And we have seen women at work, at work during the heat-wave of the Santal Parganas when all nature flies indoors, women singing at their work, punctual to a fault and hard-working to a painful extent. But, if her hour of work is seven a.m.

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and she happens to be late by half-an-hour, she will smile and show you the sun, saying "I won't work. I am late." "But you may be late and still you may work," you may protest. "A day is being lost for you." "*Baṅ*," she will quietly answer. "*Baṅ*" means 'No' and Santal traditions are silent if Ṭhàkur Jiu taught them during the days of Pilcu Haṛam and Pilcu Buḍhi, "Don't yield after saying *Baṅ*."

562 461 [192] [793] [577]

Tribal Division

We have already seen that the clans mentioned number twelve according to Santal traditions, referred to at length in the first chapter. Now let us place side by side the names of these clans as investigated by ethnologists of repute and workers amongst the Santals, maintaining, so far as possible, the spellings as adopted by them, together with our list obtained from Mayurbhanj.

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The task of finding out the meanings of the clan names is a difficult but interesting task facing an ethnologist. In the previous pages we have already given the reader an idea of the genesis of the clan-names according to tradition. Old Santals, when questioned at Mayurbhanj, gave conflicting versions of the popular tradition. But the meaning of at least a few of them are very clear. Thus "Hansdak'," certainly refers to the goose. "Hans"

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614 Thus theoretically speaking at least, each of its group is exogamous as far as its own group is concerned, but endogamous in relation to the other groups, who are *Bòndhus*, subject to a variety of other restrictions, as we shall soon see in detail. [174] Broadly speaking, this arrangement points to the existence of a dual division among the Santals in the past for matrimonial purposes.

It may be noted here that the various Santal clans have their own *gadi* (original seats). If it so chances that a Santal finds his own *gadi*, the same with that of others, his attraction is stronger towards his clan-group than to his other relatives, however near they may be. Thus there is a solid tie among the [783] *Jàtià Peṛas* (friends of the same blood) belonging [764] to the same clan, all of whose members undergo ceremonial pollution on the death of one of the [571] clan. Thus clan-ties amongst Santals transcend even degrees of relationship.

[428] The son inherits the clan-name of his father [69] and lives with his father as of right. The father [611] is the natural guardian of the children, and the way in which descent is reckoned is patrilineal. The [562] Santal wife has no legal status in the eye of tribal jurisprudence; she is simply bought and belongs to the husband's family as a chattel. And the type [594] of family that centres round the father as the head, may be characterised as patripotestal.

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to a man, on the death of the man, such a domesticated daughter's husband has no rights. If a Santal dies leaving such a son-in-law who again loses his wife, the property goes to the agnates of his father-in-law. 428 606

Partition

Partitions, in Mayurbhanj, follow the *Mitakshòra* branch of Hindu law, but the parties to a partition, in most cases, voluntarily allow a bigger share to the eldest brother or to his heirs, as *Iyasthangshò* (the share of the eldest brother). 428 [177]

Legal status of Santal women 562

In Mayurbhanj: The legal status enjoyed by Santal women in Mayurbhanj can be described as follows:—

(1) If a married man has no child, he can marry again according to Santal customary law. Bride-price is paid in both cases. [587] [583]

(2) If a man has more than one wife, even if some of them might be called *rakhni* (mistress, lit. a kept woman) they inherit equally. [595] [428]

(3) A man can marry as many wives as he likes, but a woman cannot have more than one husband at a time. [595]

(4) *Punchayets* as well as law-courts will give relief to the wife, even if called "*rakhni*," who is deserted by her husband or not given maintenance. [586] [736]

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562 585 302 (5) Vermilion is applied as a mark of recognition, even to a *rakhni* (mistress), by a married woman of any Santal clan during marriage ceremonies, when all married women of the tribe are anointed according to custom.

562 428 (6) When a man dies leaving his wife and brother and other kins on both sides, the widow inherits everything, provided her husband was separate from his brothers. But if he lived jointly (with his brothers), the widow gets maintenance only.

(7) The daughter has no share in her father's property, if there are male children.

(8) But if there are no sons, the daughter inherits in preference to all agnates.

562 *Legal status of Santal women in the Santal Parganas*

The status enjoyed by the Santal woman in her tribal fabric as revealed by the researches of Rev. P. O. Bodding presents an interesting study to show how an originally legal non-entity is gradually acquiring her rights of property recognised by indirect legal fictions.

[538] To revert to Santal myths and folk-tales we find woman being credited with uncanny powers associated with witches. Women, to the primitive Santal, can befool even the "*Boŋgas*" (the evil-spirit deities)

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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to be their nefarious instruments. "Don't believe 562
women," they would say equally with those who thought our original mother was built of the left crooked rib of man. It is no wonder therefore that Santal customary law should be pervaded with the spirit of considering its women as mere chattels to be 'bought' for matrimony and progeny.

Thus theoretically at least the Santals think of their women as capricious and irresponsible creatures, a useful and indispensable necessity to the personal and tribal life but belonging to a sub-human species. So we find that what to say of rights of acquiring property, she has no civic rights in the tribe recognised for her. She cannot sit as a member in the deliberations of the village elders, although her evidence is admissible in those 'courts.'

Various factors contributed to this position. [174]
But the most important seems to be the semi-hunting, perpetually migrating nature of the original Santal, who formed members of a seemingly communistic society, dividing the produce of their soil between themselves. So not being tenants in the legal sense of the term with real properties, the question of providing for children did not strike the Santal seriously, till he, in recent times, accepted the position of settled agriculturists.

Now a keen observer sees a change. Whatever [178]
their old tribal ideas might have been, the women

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562 178 are observed in practice to exercise a position in the domestic life, which rightfully belongs to the house-
[177] wife in the western sense of the term. Moreover, education, contact with the liberalising tendencies of the west filtered through the Missionaries and of the *Dekos* (non-Santals), have to a large extent softened the rigidity of old tribal laws to more and more advanced ideals.

583 The pivot of the woman's existence, according to the Santal, depends on her marriage. But to marry her one must buy her with a price. This bride-price, *Gònòn*, as the Santal calls it, is as essential in a Santal marriage as the *Saptapadi* is to the Hindu, or the eating together from the same plate to the Burmese. So the legal corollary is that the husband is the 'owner' of his wife as a parcel of property.

586 583 The courts present interesting cases of Santal divorce when the settlement of the bride-price becomes the most important factor in the decree. Should the woman be proved the guilty party, the bride-price has got to be returned to the injured husband. If the woman is proved on evidence to be erring, and adultery is proved against her, the co-respondent must pay a double *Gònòn* (bride-price) to the husband of the woman. But if the man is the offending party, his bride-price is forfeited.

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So as a chattel she belongs in her minority to her father, she is bought as such by her husband and when her coverture ceases on her husband's death, she reverts to her original owners. But if her father is dead and none of her original kinsmen kindly takes charge of her, she drifts as a piece of *res-nullius*, without any *locus standi* in the social life. 562

It is not strange, therefore, that having converted her into a piece of property, the tribal laws could not legally and logically bestow on her any rights to hold and own property, real or personal.

But as we have observed before, Santal tribal jurisprudence has changed and is still changing a great deal. In the domain of the ownership of personal properties, this improved position is the most perceptible. It is seen that now they can own money, cattle and goods. This ownership is completed legal right, for they have the power of disposing of these to whomsoever she pleases. She is not merely the trustee, as the Hindu widow is, with regard to her widow's estate. 562 177 178 422

It is frequently seen that when property is divided between the sons, a loving father will bestow on his daughter some heads of cattle or some pin-money, to be her personal property. Thus we find that the ornaments of the women are their own. They enjoy the fullest powers of disposal over them. But sometimes they are made to store family money. 428 562

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562 422 [586] Here only cases are different. Should a wife be divorced without any fault of hers, the tribal customs now entitle her to a cow, some paddy and some utensils. These become her personal property. Similarly, the sheaf of paddy that Santal girls reap during the *Sohrae*, their harvest-festival, is stored by her as her personal property. She has the fullest ownership over the money she would get by selling such paddy. The widow without any sons also has her property, in case she is sent to her parent's family.

562 434 But the case of a woman working and earning money presents an interesting problem. Should she be entitled to the fruit of her labour legally? In solving this, a distinction is made between work done by a woman in excess of providing for her own food, and the work, say, of a daughter of the family, ordinarily. In the former case, she is permitted by customary law to save the earning she made, over and above that goes towards her food; but in the latter case, it will go generally to her parents or guardians.

562 423 So far we have discussed the rights of Santal women in regard to the acquisition of movable properties; but when we come to the question of immovable properties, we find the tribal laws are very apathetic towards her, for she has no rights of inheritance or occupancy of lands. The reason

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is not far to seek. The Santal tenant has, as a member of his tribe, certain duties religious and social, but the woman for the reason of her sex, is not allowed to perform them. 562 423

But we have human feelings to count. There are fond fathers who want their daughters to be provided with lands, and there are others who may have no sons but only daughters. In the latter case all the lands of the deceased Santal tenant will go to the next of his kin. An interesting method has long existed in Santal customary law to get rid of this position for providing the daughter with lands. 562 423 428

Such a father gives his daughter in marriage to a *ghardi janwane* (domesticated son-in-law). He is a son-in-law invested with the position of a son of the family. He does not pay for his bride in cash. He serves it out in the house of his father-in-law, and thus pays by his work, generally for a period of five years. On the expiry of this term, he is free to leave his father-in-law's house. 562 423 428 606 [583]

The son-in-law in this case is not allowed by tribal customs to anything but his wife. After the death of his parents-in-law, he is not himself the inheritor. He is, in the eye of law and fact, merely the conduit-pipe for the provision of the children of the marriage. He does not become an heir by the mere fact of marriage. If it is intended that the *ghardi janwane* will inherit, this has got to be speci-

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562 423 428 606 fically arranged at the time of marriage by a public declaration, which has all the force of an oral will.

As a matter of fact, it is the daughter who inherits. The *ghardi* janwane is the representative as tenant and owner of the woman in the eye of tribal law, who has no rights of inheritance recognised for her. This position will be still more clear when we remember that if the *ghardi* janwane leaves his father-in-law's protection, his rights in his father-in-law's lands melt away for ever. And never has his own relatives any right to his so-called inheritance. The children of the marriage are the only beneficiaries. In case the *ghardi* janwane's wife [671] dies, the tribal customs generally allow him a life-interest only, provided he does not remarry. This legal fiction was created by Santal customary law to provide lands for daughters; because, as women, they cannot perform certain social and religious duties which only men can perform.

562 423 428 178 But times are changing. So we find in many cases the Settlement courts have recorded daughters as *raiyats* in agricultural lands, and provided them with a life-tenure; and reformist Santal associations are trying for the recognition of the rights of inheritance of married Santal girls.

736 671 423 422 But the lot of the widow in the Santal customary law is the hardest. She is not entitled to any land, although she may own personal property, either in her father's home or in her husband's.

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conveyed by four men, followed by a *Dàbi Daka* (a man who will place the dead body on the funeral pyre), carrying a winnowing fan containing fire in a bundle of straw, some seeds of cotton, straw picked from the thatch of the deceased, some fried paddy (*khòi*), powdered sun-dried rice mixed with turmeric, cow-dung and a small chicken in one hand ; while with the other, he holds a pot with lid, which will serve as the receptacle of the bones of the dead. In the rear, follow the villagers carrying *tañgis* (axes), *kudis* (an implement for digging earth) and thus they reach the crossroad at the outskirts of the village. Now, amidst lamentations the women-folk bathe the hands and feet of the deceased. The *Dàbi Daka* circles round the funeral assembly thrice and places some cotton-seeds beneath the four legs of the *khatia* (stringed bed-stead), when the bier is again lifted and the procession slowly moves towards the cremation ground. Here, the roads part for the women of the tribe, for, they have no right to proceed further. Hence they (women) wend their way to the bathing-ghat (*jòl-ghat*), have a purificatory ablution and thereafter go to the *kulbi* (village-lane) and crunch *dhup* (an incense). It is, however, remarkable that the members of the family in mourning need not do so; it is obligatory for the rest only.

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Those at the cremation ground now procure fuel and make the pyre. The dead body is taken round

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764 thrice and placed on it. A fowl is sacrificed by
[782] means of a twig of a *mòhna* tree passed through its
[824] eyes, and hung on one of the posts round the pyre.[1] Three *mòhna*-twigs are then placed by any one of the village, one on the breast, one on the navel and the third on the waist of the dead body. His teeth are brushed with a tooth-stick of *sal*-wood, and some lime and tobacco applied to the mouth. And after all these preliminaries, the son of the deceased sets fire to the body, by lighting the straw of the thatch taken from the house of the deceased. The members of the tribe present throw some fuel each on the pile on fire as their ceremonial duty on behalf of the clan. In case, the deceased has no son, the right of applying fire descends in this order, (1) father (2) brother (3) agnates (4) men of the clan. The
[562] wife can never apply fire, as she never accompanies the funeral.

764 Now, as the body is half-burnt, two men are
782 deputed to the house of the deceased to gather some
824 *sal* tooth-sticks, some leaves of *kaima* tree, some roots of *bena* plant (a common grass found near tanks, *Andropogon muricatus*) and some fish, where they cook three handfuls of rice and a meat-curry with

1. Dr. Campbell calls it *Bulan* (a method of exorcism), page 87. *Santali to English Dictionary*.

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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The special feature of the festival is that articles for worship are supplied by the priest himself, and only the male members of the tribe are allowed to eat the meat of the animals sacrificed. The priest then prays to the god *Ianthar* with the following incantations:—

We salute thee Father Creator *Pargana*.
We offer you all these in the name of *Ianthar*;
We pray that whatever we may eat, we may digest.
Let there be no diseases like headache, diarrhoea and bowel-complaints.
And bless our crop in the field, and grain in the barn.
Protect them from rats and other pestilence.

Ianthar (called by Risley *Ianthar puja*) is in effect the offering of the first fruit of low-land paddy, as *Iri Gundli* is of millets. Another name for the festival is *Baihàr Horo* Nanwàni.

In course of our enquiries in Mayurbhanj, many Santals stated that this festival passes under the name of *Maamane*[1] there, as was very clear from the fact

1. One wonders if the name is Mak' *Mòṇṛén* in disguise. It is stated by Dr. Campbell to be a festival observed by the Santals after five years or so when the god "*Mòṇṛènko*" is propitiated with the sacrifice of a white goat. The account in the District Gazeteer of the Santal Parganas considers it "an occasional sacrifice performed as the result of a vow made at a time of great distress", when sacrifices are made to all the national *boṅgas* in the *Jabérthan*.

31 Mukherjee O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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777 352 Luck attached to a bed is tested in a peculiar way. The interstices between a stringed bed (*khatia*) are counted from its top to bottom, beginning with *ind*, then *cand*, then *jom*, and then *raja*, and so on till the end. If either *raja* or *cand* falls on the last space, the bed is lucky, and if either *ind* or *jom* falls on it, the bed is unlucky.

777 243 825 301 [823] In sowing millets, the luck of preserving the grains from the attack of pests is ensured in a special way. The sower wears a ring made from the scale of the *Harba* (Indian scaly ant-eater). This ring must be cut by a flint to protect its virtue; and should iron be used, it loses all its powers.[1]

Origin of Witch-Craft

754 562 That the Santals have an uncanny faith in Witch-craft is known to many, but little is known about the fact that they consider all women as potential witches, who learnt their art, or rather stole it from Maraṅ Buru, the chief presiding deity, and how men in return learnt the craft of detecting the witches among women.

754 According to the sayings of the Santal patriarchs as we read in *Hoṛkorèn Mare Hapṛamko Reak'*

1 Dr. Campbell's *Santali to English Dictionary*, pages 22 and 265.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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left, as they advance forwards. But when the circles swing backwards, it is with a brisk picturesque

Danta Musicians

movement that they do so. Thus they dance from early morning till mid-day, without any girls as dancing partners.

"Danta" is no independent dance, but is indulged in as a relaxation. Women do not join these dances, as they cannot skip sufficiently as the steps require, and more specially because the songs that accompany the dances are frequently too amorous. Many of these refer to women and a very decent one purports as follows:—

Some boys go to a tank; they catch fish, roast and divide. While they eat the fish thus roasted, they give all the bones to women.

Mention should be made of some special steps of the *Danta* and their probable significance. It is noteworthy that when the dancers in both rows

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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The old Santal would not grow potato due to their conservative instincts even when Pontet asked them, now they grow it along with tomato. The women now wear mill-made saris and in the urban areas of Santal Parganas, they seem indistinguishable from their Hindu sisters, because in fairs and rallies, they generally dress alike. Some widows, it has been seen at Bolpur, dress themselves in white. It is interesting to hear that in some areas, there is lesser divorce. And due to the impact of new ideas women's right in inheritance is being slowly recognised by the state and the society through indirect legal fictions.

With ideas of reform in the atmosphere, some acting as disintegrating forces, others operating on a constructive basis, it was no surprise to us to come across a manifesto signed by some prominent educated Santals of Bengal and some parts of Bihar calling upon their brethren of Midnapore, Bankura, Manbhum, Singbhum and other areas to engage in social reforms for the maintenance of their tribal honour. It stated that the Santals had firmly resolved that:

1. No Santal, man or woman, should drink *Pochoi* (rice-beer) in shops as the tribe had been ruined by drink while the grog-shop owners and *mahajans* were becoming rich. Temperance would help the Santals financially.

B Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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Whatever that may be, a sane admonition is now given to the erring by sensible parents and we understand that even married men are reproached by their parents or superiors if they indulge in adultery.

Santal women, in sexual matters, are the passive type found in the sex in general. If the term 'masochistic' can be applied to such a nature, they are undoubtedly so. We enquired to find out cases of women possessing a sadistic nature and gathered that instances of women beating men for economic reasons or domestic infidelity are not at all rare. But the witnesses stoutly maintained that such cases had nothing to do with the infliction of pain for the joy of it, and women as a sex do never take the lead in coitus or mastery in cohabitation.

But in married-life, should the husband be sexually unsatisfactory and fail habitually to satisfy the cravings of his wife for intercourse, the wife unfailingly sues for divorce and changes the husband for a more capable one. As one Santal puts it, "Failure to satisfy the sexual passion is the primary reason for divorces. Women can stand starvation in food as she can work and earn it, but if the husband fails to be a satisfactory partner in mating, she will leave him immediately."

The place of sex in the tribal life

Any one visiting a Santal rally at a dance or a festival, we dare say, will be struck with the

596 and grandchildren, which is equivalent to the Hindu "Joint family". The Maori calls it "Whanau" (meaning extended family or family group) which corresponds to the German "Gross familie".

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[614] The family is broken up by marriage when the daughters by the law of exogamy go to another clan. Up to the time of their marriage the daughters are the property of their fathers or the nearest male relatives (if the father is dead), who take charge of them ; when married, they come under control of the family of their husbands (with these as their immediate lords and masters) and this they continue to be so long as there is any one who has a right over them. If such a state [736] ceases, they have no longer any locus standi ; they revert to their original relatives, if they are alive or become sort of guardianless minors, if none such exist they become utterly destitute except for what people may give them or what they may be able to earn through their work. It can be seen that the sons sometimese stablish their own home, when they have got their own family. But ordinarily the sons with their wives live with their father and mother.

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606 **Ghardi-Jawae**: There is a third type, in which the son-in-law is taken as a son in the father-in-law's family. If in a Santal family there is no son but only a daughter, they marry their daughter off and give the son-in-law the position of a son, provided he lives with his father-in-law. If in a family there are grown-up daughters and minor sons, the son-in-law works for his father-in-law without wages for five years. He then gets two buffaloes, some rice and some agricultural

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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forest, and brings water from a streamlet flowing near by. Every morning the wife getting up from the bed cleans the house with mud and cow dung. Over and above that, she goes to the agricultural field to help her husband. In the daily social life of the people the Santal woman has a very independent and strong position both at home and in the village.

Position of Women: Some writers have remarked that the Santal women are looked upon as mere chattel, with which opinion I disagree. Rev. P. O. Bodding is of the same opinion with me (see some remarks on the Position of Women among the Santals). Such writers have gone too far. Making a tour of almost the whole of the Santal parganas, I got the idea that the Santal women have an important status in their society. Though they are shut off from certain religious and administrative functions their economic status is very high. It is they who generally go to market, do the bargaining—all the produce is in their hand—and they make over the proceeds for the sustenance of the family to the male members. They are the repositories of the moral and religious tradition of the society. All the infringements of social order are brought to the notice of the male members through them.

Parents and Children: The relation between the parents and children among the Santals is also of a sweet affectionate type. How strong the affection of the Santal parents is towards their children can be seen from the following facts. The mother or the grandmother of the children always carries the children even when going to the Mela or to the field When a child is attacked with any disease, the parents

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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by bongas are called in. There is no female Shaman as the female with supernatural power is always looked upon as wicked, malevolent and is persecuted as a witch. So it is to pit his higher knowledge against the wicked machinations of the witches that the *Jan guru* or *ojhas* are called who thus are important social functionaries curing individuals of their constant depression due to fear of sorcery and the evil eye or acting as village mental sanitation officials. Thus these Santal medicine-men, soothsayers and masters of incantations have to work hand in hand with the chiefs.

The name *ojha*, which the Santal uses, is not a Santal word; it is a Hindi word, used for diviner, enchanter, sorcerer, magician, etc. The word is derived from Sanskrit. The Santal has borrowed this word from the Hindi-speaking people. Rev. P.O. Bodding is of opinion that the Santal has adopted this exorcism from the Hindi-speaking people. His argument in favour of it is that the work of a Santal *ojha* in nature partly resembles that of the Hindu *ojha* and the special *bongas* invoked by the Santal *ojhas*. all have names of Hindu origin in addition to their special *bongas*. But a tribe which believes so much in spirits (both malevolent and benevolent) must have some method of propitiation of those spirits as is usual among almost all the primitive tribes of the world.

The *ojha* is also a physician. The difference between the herbal doctors and the *ojhas* lies in the fact that the former gives only medicine whilst the latter in addition to giving medicine tries to drive away the disease by magic incantations, etc., by the assistance of his special *bongas* whom he knows how to force to work.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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courtyard there is an elevated place, square, or rectangular, the size generally being 1½'×1½'×1'. It is made of earth, and a *Tulsi* (Ocymum Sanctum L.) plant is planted in the centre of the mound over which a shed is erected. The shed is so large that it can easily accommodate 10 to 12 persons. The shed is erected by the unmarried disciples, married ones have nothing to do with the erection of the shed. The posts of this shed are of sal wood. In the centre of the shed a hen's egg and a chir sakum (a thin kind of iron wristlet or arm ornament) are kept for preventing witches from molesting them. The course lasts for four months. A woman cannot be an *ojha*. The first act of the *ojha* is what is called *Akhra rara* which means performing the opening ceremony, to ensure that all may go well and without any hindrance. The first evening the disciples bring along with them some *sindur* which is given to the *guru*. In five different places in the courtyard the *ojha* makes vermilion marks in the name of the following five different *bongas* :—

(1) Kamru guru (the reputed first teacher of *ojha* science to the Santals),

(2) Sin *Bonga* (the sun),

(3) Kali mai (the goddess Durga),[1]

(4) Dibi mai (the goddess Durga),

(5) Ganga mai (the Ganges goddess).

The following invocation is offered to all of them by him after changing the names of the *Bongas* :

"Nokoe, Kamru guru (or, as the case may be, Serma Sin Thakur, etc.) amintikawam kana; nokoe cala korako

1 [Erratum: this should read "(the goddess Kali)."
^ Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. x - Analyst]

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All petty disputes, both of a civil and criminal nature, are settled there but if the matter to be settled is of an immoral and shameful character, they go to the end of the village street or on some other convenient place where they need not fear to hurt the feelings of their womenkind.

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Inheritance: In the matter of inheritance, the Santals follow their own customs and know nothing of the so-called codes which govern the devolution of property among the Hindus. Till the death of the father the property of the family remains intact and all the members enjoy in common. After his death the property is divided among his sons equally except that the eldest gets a bullock and a rupee more than the others. As the Santal women have no right to any of the property, movable and immovable, the question of inheritance on their part cannot arise at all. If a man dies without an issue his property goes to the nearest relation. If the father of the deceased remains alive the property will revert to the father; if he is dead it goes to the brothers of the deceased equally; if the latter are dead their sons succeed. In default of this the paternal uncles and their sons become successors. The condition of the widow of a childless man becomes very bad; none takes her charge. Sometimes she gets one cloth, a bati (brass vessel), a calf and 10 to 12 maunds of paddy. Sometimes also it can be seen that her husband's younger brothers keep her. Even when one of the younger brothers keeps her, the share of the deceased brother is equally divided between all the brothers. If the younger brothers of her husband do not give her any shelter she returns to her parents'

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The organization which binds groups of villages together is loose by comparison with the village system. The Santals distinguish between the various sections of the country in which their villages are situated, calling them *parganas*. Each *pargana* has a distinctive name, which may be either the name of a village situated within its borders or a general name. Over each of the *parganas* a *parganath* is supposed to have jurisdiction. McAlpin's report, the result of an inquiry instituted by the Bengal Government which led to the Tenancy Amendment Act of 1918, in addition to its main purpose of suggesting measures for the protection of Santal lands, dealt also with the condition of the Santal village system. McAlpin reported that the *pargana* system was far gone in decay, and it is not possible to question his conclusion. Binu Hāsdāk' of Tantidanga, late *parganath* of the Sarenga area, was typical of his class. His mind was well stored with the customary law of the tribe, and from time to time he was called in by nearby villages to help more particularly with disputes arising out of marriage tangles. He was personally popular and had some prestige as the possessor of valuable remedies against sickness, but on his own confession his authority was of a very limited kind. "What can I do", he once said, "unless the people of the village are agreed?" There is the crux of the situation; in the village, public opinion is a wellnigh irresistible force. Binu used, nevertheless, to go happily about his errands, for among other advantages which accrued he received a fee amounting to one rupee four annas when a guilty party was fined.

Kinship ties share with the well-knit village system the governance of the Santal's daily life, regulating his relationships with his fellows. The tribe is divided into clans, and each clan is again divided into sub-clans. The clan descends through the father, and when girls marry they are taken into the clans of their husbands. The clans have a totemistic basis and they are exogamous. Land is conceived of as belonging to the clan. Although individual and family ownership is now the rule, Santals will not countenance the transfer of land from one clan to another. The one exception for which allowance is made has been forced on them by economic necessity; it occurs in the case of a man without sons who brings his daughter's husband into his own house to carry on the cultivation, the son-in-law thereby acquiring rights in the property for descendants. The rights conferred by Hindu personal law on daughters in the property of their fathers or on wives in the property of their

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husbands are strenuously resisted by the Santals, and the fact that the civil courts administer the Hindu laws of succession leads to many cases of tension. In practice, certain rights are conceded to women for "humanitarian" reasons. To daughters who do not marry—a rare but not unknown phenomenon—and to widows, with or without children, the right to maintenance is given. Since the woman on marriage becomes a member of another clan, the succession to land cannot be carried through her.

Ties of kinship determine standards of behaviour to a great extent. Life in community is an art to be learnt, and the Santal has his own rigid standards of right conduct. The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is one of deep intimacy and affection, which is no doubt fostered by the necessity for leaving the young children with the grandparents when both parents have to go out to work. The rules governing familiarity and its converse, avoidance, are based on kinship ties. The joking relationship, apart from grandparents and grandchildren, extends to his wife's younger sisters for a man and to her husband's younger brothers and her elder sister's husband for a woman. People within the circle of this relationship can talk freely with one another, indulging in jokes and calling each other names. Conversely, extreme care is called for in relationships which do not fall within this circle. A Santal child must behave with great respect to anyone who belongs to the same generation as his parents. Names are sparingly used between individuals, and relationship terms are the usual form of address. Husband and wife will on no account use each other's names, in distinction from the Hindu taboo, which is enjoined on the wife only. They behave circumspectly towards each other in public. A woman has to carry herself with care before her husband's elder brother. Her dress must at all times be properly arranged in front of him; she cannot sit with her legs dangling over the edge of a bed or the low veranda running round the house, her hair must be arranged, and she does not talk to him at all apart from the necessities of daily life. The rules extend to the finer forms of courtesy. Every Santal knows what is expected of him when he is meeting relatives—whether he has to make a deep obeisance to the ground before the person he has met, or whether he should wait for the other person to greet him first and then acknowledge the greeting by cupping his hands together and raising them towards his chest. A greeting between equals is performed by means of a

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for their timber. The *sarjom*, which predominates, is a valuable tree, but locally it has not been permitted to grow to any height. The trees are cut once in seven years and the timber is exported chiefly to supply firewood in the towns, while the leaf is used for the leaf plates required in city homes and food shops. This activity provides the main subsidiary occupation and is in full swing whenever work in the fields slackens, though it is not sufficient to keep the Santals at home throughout the year. Women share in the occupation; they help the men by stacking the timber as it is cut into lengths, and they collect the leaves which older women sew together while sitting at home. Other women, in the time they can spare from duties at home, collect the twigs and dry branches which they need for domestic fuel. Boys from about the age of seven are engaged in their occupation of tending the village herd of goats and cattle, for which they receive wages from the owners of one anna per month for each goat and two annas per month for each head of cattle in their charge. They are sometimes joined by the younger girls, but after the girls are nine or ten they stay with their mothers, look after the house or help to nurse the younger children.

Women play little or no part in the organization of social or religious life, but they are supreme in household affairs. Although men lay claim to superior intelligence and women openly disclaim any knowledge or interest in affairs outside the home circle, the attitude of the two groups towards each other is one of good-natured tolerance. In Barikul, at the close of a festival when there had been much drinking, the men were feeling unwell. Babulal reports: "Some of the men are saying: 'Yesterday I had nothing to eat, so give me something today.' To which the women reply: 'We have eaten all the food; you men are drunk!' And so they drank more beer and spirits, and became even more drunken than they had been the day before." In his diary entry for the next day he records: "Today all the drunks have begun to beg for some stale rice gruel. The women scolded them: 'You have earned a lot of food, haven't you? Why should you not go out to beg?' " After this chaffing the women relented and gave the men some food before they set out once more to their work. The Santal wife attends fairs and markets; she buys her own clothes and attends to the household shopping. The contrast between them and their non-Santal neighbours is heightened by the fact that they do not cover their heads. One end of the *sari* is thrown loosely across the breasts and over the left shoulder.

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month. The date of the third is arranged while the first hunt is in progress, and it is announced by means of a *girq*. This is a method of reckoning dates or announcing future events. It may be used in connection with a hunt, but it is also used to announce a forthcoming marriage or a burial feast. It consists of a length of string in which a number of knots are tied, each knot representing one day. A number of *girq* are distributed to the surrounding villages during the weekly market, and they are kept by the headmen, who untie one of the knots each evening until one knot remains, when they know that the hunt takes place on the morrow.

Although the ritual meaning of the hunt has been obscured in the minds of the Santals, it is implicit in much that accompanies it. A hunt is the activity of the whole adult male population of the area. Women are not permitted to take part, but certain taboos must be observed by them while the men are away from home, to avert the lurking dangers of the forest. The prohibitions are similar to those enjoined on mourners and widows. No woman may wear flowers in her hair nor use the vermilion paint in the parting of her hair which is a sign of her married status. She should also leave off wearing the iron bangle which is another symbol of her marriage, and she must not bathe. At the present day, although the first two prohibitions are observed, there is some slackness about the others. But the main responsibility for placating the possibly malevolent influences residing in the forest rests with the *dihri*, or hunt priest. This is a special office, and the name is evidently the same as the Khond *dehuri* and the Ho *dihiri*, or priest. Among the Santals the *dihri* is a priest only at the time of the hunt, and he is appointed for the *pargana*. On the morning of the day when the hunt opens he performs the sacrifice of a brown hen on the edge of the forest which will be entered, and the tribal spirits are invoked to protect the men from wild beasts. He is encouraged by the spectators, who remind him that if any of them comes to harm they will hold him responsible. At times a certain amount of mimic hunting takes place in connection with the sacrifice, during which the *dihri* plays the part of the hunted animal.

The hunt lasts through the greater part of the day. The forest is surrounded by parties from different villages and the game gradually driven towards the centre. Within living memory the stock of game in most parts of the area has declined, and some of the hunts are now poorly attended for

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in the dung heap. Another Soren sub-clan is known briefly as the Sidup' Soren, and the name is connected with a custom followed when they are making their sub-clan sacrifice. The man squats on the ground in the courtyard of the house holding before him a sheaf of paddy. Meanwhile his wife squats nearby with her back to her husband. He passes the sheaf over his head to his wife, who receives it with her hands lifted above her head and takes it into the house. She may not perform this service if she has formerly been the wife of another man and is either a widow or has been divorced. The women of this sub-clan cannot wear a *campa*[1] flower in their hair.

There are two stories current concerning the origin of the Cilbinḍa Hàsdàk', or the Hàsdàk' who killed a kite. One of them states: "In the days of the early ancestors many very wonderful things used to happen. At that time kites were causing a great deal of trouble throughout the countryside. Every day they used to snatch away not only men's chickens but also the grown fowl, and in addition they used to take kids, young pigs and children. In this way they were the cause of much sorrow to men. Seeing this state of affairs, one of the Hàsdàk' brothers who was working out in the fields hid behind his clod-crusher and shot a kite through the hole in the middle, and from that time his family got the name." An even more suggestive version is more widely known. An old man belonging to this sub-clan told the story thus: "Formerly our ancestors fell into great difficulties. They were engaged in transplanting rice seedlings and had plucked them from the seedling beds, but there was no rain and so they could not proceed with the transplanting. Now, there was a kite perched in a tree adjoining the field. They shot it, and the blood moistened the land so that they were able to carry on with their work."

The claim to belong to the original sub-clan is made by many people belonging to various other divisions. Binu of Tantidanga made this claim for the sub-clan to which he belonged. He was a Jihu Hàsdàk' and he used to say: "They were the first of the lot." The name is derived from the fact that while their ancestors were hunting in the Khandarae forest they ate the flesh of the *jihu*[2] bird. Since that time they will never eat it, nor will they touch anything that is deep blue in colour, lest people say that they are touching the blue eggs of the jihu bird.

[1] *Ochna squarrosa*, L.

[2] There are two kinds of birds so named. The *Bhonḍa jihu* is the Bengal Babbler, *Malacocercus terricolor*, and the *Jonum jihu* is the green Babbler, *Chalcorius striatus*.

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and then a ram. The blood is placed in a vessel and fixed on the ground, surrounded with small stones. Only men may eat the meat of the animals sacrificed. The girls of this sub-clan are not allowed to wear Bengali-style *saris* or shell bracelets at the time of their marriage, though they may do so after they are married. When the men of this sub-clan are bringing brides to their home they present them with a *hasli*, the neck ring, made of brass.

A whole range of the sub-clans is known as *Sada*, or "white". They may represent a reforming element, for their characteristic is a revolt against the use of red vermilion paint. When the first ancestors of the Sada Hembrom, so it is said, were going to perform a sacrifice they thought that they had with them all that they needed, but when they reached the spot where the sacrifice was to take place it was discovered that they had left behind their supply of *sindur*, the vermilion-coloured earth that plays a large part in the Santal cult. When they saw this they completed the sacrifice without the *sindur*, and since then their descendants have been known as Sada Hembrom and they have continued to observe the custom so carelessly begun! In other ways, too, they have abjured the use of vermilion. They make no use of it in the marriage ceremonial, though once their daughters are married and have become members of other clans they may put vermilion in the parting of their hair. The cloth which is a part of the presents given at the time of marriages must be white without any border, and their womenfolk are limited to plain cloth throughout life. The same pattern of behaviour applies to all the Sada sub-clans. The Sada Hāsdāk', along with some other sub-clans, when they perform their sub-clan sacrifices, first of all model a scorpion out of paste made from flour and water and offer it before going on to offer a hen, then a pig, and lastly a goat. This particular sub-clan has to eat all the flesh of the animals sacrificed and they are not allowed to throw any part of it away.

Some of the Murmu sub-clans are restricted in the type of dwelling-house that they may build. The majority of Santal house roofs are constructed on what is known in Bengal as the "charchala" plan. This consists of a thatch that slopes up from each of the four walls of the house. The main beam is set well above the four walls, being smaller than the length of the house, with four corner beams fixed two at each end of the main beam and going down to the four corners of the house to form the first stage of the framework on which the thatch rests. Most of the Murmu, however, have to build up the two end walls so that

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and in fact it is used extensively as a storeroom, particularly for stacking the bundles of reserve rice. Any man may pass through this opening, but no woman may do so unless she belongs to the family living there. The daughters of the house are debarred from going into the *bhitar* after they have married. After marriage a woman belongs to her husband's family, and this prohibition is one of several that are enforced with a view to ensuring that she shall not bring calamity on her husband's house by continuing to have dealings with the spirits of her father's home. She has to remove herself from their influence. Within the *bhitar* dwells the house spirit, and it is also visited by the ancestors of the family. There offerings of food and beer are made to the immediate ancestors. In certain instances sub-clan sacrifices are made in this inner room. The names of the spirits to whom the sub-clan sacrifices are made are kept secret. The knowledge of these names is handed down within each family from the father to the eldest son or other heir, and under no circumstances should it be imparted to others. An instance was reported of a man who was in deep distress because his father had died without his having had an opportunity of learning the name of the *abge*, as this spirit is called. He hoped to learn the name from one of his father's brothers, but this person also died before he could pass on the information. Shortly afterwards his dead uncle appeared to him in a dream and revealed the name, and he confirmed the correctness of the information by visiting yet another uncle who knew the secret. This story shows that the rules of silence are not too strictly observed within the family circle. Women are not allowed to learn the name, and in most cases they are excluded from participating in the sacrificial meal. The same prohibition applies to sons-in-law, though one of the Soren sub-clans is allowed to leave a portion of the food from the meal for their sons-in-law. When they summon them to eat, however, they address them as they would the household dogs, which emphasizes their separation from the family and from the sub-clan.

Some features of the Santal cult, as well as an indication of the ways in which it may develop, can be illustrated by a description of the shrine that stands on the outskirts of the village of Sarenga. This village was at first a Santal settlement, but it is now a place of nearly two thousand inhabitants, most of whom are Bengali Hindus. The present-day Santal inhabitants number barely one hundred, but amongst them are some who claim descent from the founders of the village, who lived,

so they say, nine generations ago.

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behalf of a particular social unit, which is sometimes the whole village and sometimes as small as the family. Positively the goodwill of the *boŋgas* is retained by the observance of the due sacrifices, negatively by the observance of taboo rules. Many of the taboos operative in the daily life of the Santals can be directly traced to the necessity for safeguarding the interests of the *boŋgas*. The belief in the dangerous potentiality of women is reflected in the fact that all sacrifices are taboo for women in one sense or another. The fact that they may not eat the flesh of animals sacrificed to the *abge* has already been noted; they may not eat the flesh of any part of an animal sacrificed to *Maraŋ Buru*, nor the head of any animal killed in a sacrifice at all. Although they may help in the preparations for sacrifices performed in the house, they are kept away from participation in the sacred grove. No woman may climb any of the trees in the grove, nor may she be present when the sacrifices are made, nor eat of the flesh of any animal there offered. The one exception to this rule is that a portion of the flesh of sacrificed animals is reserved for the wife of the priest. Other taboos are related only indirectly to the belief in spirits. The code of behaviour between relatives is sanctioned by a belief that any infringement of its provisions will result in retaliation by the spirits, who cause such diseases as leprosy, or who will inflict dire punishment after death and make it impossible for funeral ceremonies to be duly carried out. Sometimes the retaliation acts swiftly, as in the case related by a Santal concerning an uncle. This relative was on a journey away from home. He stopped at a certain village to obtain a drink of beer, and in his haste, being exceedingly thirsty at the time, he omitted first of all to spill a few drops as a libation to *Maraŋ Buru* and his ancestors. This forgetfulness of a universal obligation was met apparently by almost immediate retribution. Soon after he had resumed his journey the man fell down—dead.

The *boŋgas* can be distinguished both from the Supreme Being and from various other classes of spirits by the fact that there is between them and the Santals some degree of personal relationship. Many of the *boŋgas* do not seem to have any very marked personal characteristics, but the Santal knows that in the normal course of events he will himself become a *boŋga* and will be dependent then for his happiness on those who come after him. Unless he dies in certain specified ways, once his funeral rites have been completed he will take his place among the ancestors, and his place in the hierarchy of the spirit world depends very much on his social status and correct behaviour in this one. The

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[The Santal Christian Community]

794 their tribal dances, the activity takes on a self-conscious quality
177 which is quite unable to stand up to the general assumption of
178 the Bengali community that these dances are fit only for the
871 uneducated and "simple" villager. The education of girls
follows a somewhat different pattern. For many years the
794 Christians were slow in taking advantage of facilities for girls'
177 education and the numbers in the girls' school were compara-
178 tively small. To a former generation girls were destined to the
871 life of village housewives, and the education provided was not
only irrelevant but it positively endangered the success of their
• 562 daughters in marriage. Many of the older generation and some of
the younger express a preference for illiterate wives who need
less clothes and become proficient in house and field work by
living at home. In school the girls live a sheltered life. Although
agricultural training is given both to boys and girls in school
through the care of gardens and through work on the rice fields
belonging to the mission, such activity is regarded as an extra
and some parents have voiced the view that it is a form of
exploitation! In recent years, however, a change has come over
the general attitude towards girls' education owing to the growth
of a small number of economically independent unmarried
women whose earnings are valuable to their families and also to
the rise of a demand for educated wives by a section of the men.
The changing attitude was illustrated by the fact that when in
1937, as a result of a change in policy, the girls were housed in
cottages constructed as nearly as possible on the lines of a
Santal village, there was considerable opposition from the
parents. They objected that the girls would have too much
housework in addition to their studies.

794 A new class of Santal Christians has been created which sets
177 the tone for changes in the community. The more intellectual
178 members are lost to village life; they pass to High School or to
871 other training and many of them retain only slender links with
571 their village homes. They follow a wide range of occupations
464 unknown to Santals of the older generation, in government
service, as paid mission agents, and in recent years they have
begun to enter the ranks of industrial workers in the city. Girls
have become nurses and teachers. The local leaders of the
Church are largely salaried members of the mission staff who are
"compound" centred rather than village minded. Their small
but regular wages have made them better off than the great
majority of the peasants among whom they work; and one result
is that the latter do not invariably follow the lead they are given.